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ABSTRACT

This paper includes two documents: a working document and a report on the symposium on the democratization of higher education and its role in the promotion of economic and social progress. This symposium was part of UNESCO'S program entitled "Democratization of Education." The purposes of the program's activities were to stimulate and support Member States' efforts to ensure full equality of educational opportunity for all citizens and to promote legislative, educational, social, and financial measures that would enable the most disadvantaged strata of society to exercise rights effectively. The analyses and discussions covered four main topics: democratization of education as a condition for the exercise of the right to education and for the progress of society; favorable conditions and obstacles to the democratization of education; problems concerning the quality of education in the context of its democratization; and democratization of higher education in relation to the requirements of socio-economic development. (Author/DB)

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THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION

WORKING DOCUMENT AND REPORT ON DISCUSSIONS OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

UNESCO, PARIS

17 TO 21 JUNE 1985

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RESUME

This paper includes two documents : a working document and a report on discussions which took place during the International Symposium on the Democratization of Education and, in particular, on the democratization of higher education and its role in the promotion of economic and social progress held in Paris, 17-21 June 1985. This symposium is part of Unesco's programme entitled "Democratization of education". The purpose of the activities provided for under this programme is to stimulate and support Member States' efforts to ensure full equality of opportunity for all to exercise their right to education, and to promote legislative, educational, social and financial measures which will enable the most disadvantaged strata of society to exercise this right effectively. The analyses and discussions concern four main topics : democratization of education as a condition for the exercise of the right to education and for the progress of society, favorable conditions and obstacles to the democratization of education, problems concerning the quality of education in the context of its democratization, democratization of higher education in relation to the requirements of socio-economic development and the employment needs.

WORKING DOCUMENT

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PART I. DIMENSIONS AND ASPECTS OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION: DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS

1. In recent decades, the history of education has been marked by a constant search for new methods and new strategies to encourage increasingly wide exercise of the right to education, considered both as a basic human right and as a prerequisite for the economic, social and cultural progress of societies. All the various actions and activities aimed at promoting this right merge into a complex process which is commonly referred to as the democratization of education and is closely linked to the democratization of society.

I. Access to education: the prerequisite for its democratization

2. The idea of the democratization of education is developing and becoming richer in step with social change. Initially regarded as meaning the same as the provision of equal opportunities for access to educational institutions, it has taken concrete form in a certain number of educational strategies, such as, for example, the promotion of primary education for all, the introduction of compulsory education up to a certain age, the abolition of registration fees, the provision of certain free services (textbooks, school transport and so on) that were first introduced at the primary level and have gradually been extended to secondary and even higher education, the establishment of systems of scholarships and study grants, adult literacy campaigns and the like. In recent decades, considerable progress has been achieved in this direction.

3. While this development can be attributed in the first place to national efforts, international organizations, especially Unesco, can rightly consider that their activities have played a part in the progress achieved in this connection. The States Parties to the Constitution of Unesco declared, in its preamble, that they believed in 'full and equal opportunities for education for all', and even since its earliest programmes, Unesco has been concerned to promote such opportunities, as is clear from the references, in resolutions adopted at various sessions of the General Conference, to education open to all, the extension of formal education, especially free and compulsory primary education, the eradication of illiteracy, basic education, adult education, special education for handicapped children and educational assistance to refugees. Over the years, activities in these fields have developed into a system for promoting general access to and the democratization of education, thus combining activities of intellectual co-operation, standard-setting activities and operational activities.

4. In 1960, for example, the General Conference at its eleventh session adopted a Convention and a Recommendation against Discrimination in Education. In these, the Member States of the Organization were invited on the one hand to eliminate every form of discrimination and on the other to take positive measures to assure equality of opportunity and treatment in education. The adoption of regional plans for the extension of primary education, specifically the plans for the development of compulsory education in Asian Member States (Karachi, 1960) and for the development of education in Africa over a twenty-year period (Addis Ababa, 1961) are further clear proof of such co-operation. These plans have indisputably had a locomotive effect on the efforts of the governments responsible for promoting general access to education, especially at the primary level. The operational activities of the Organization have made it possible to back up the efforts of several countries aimed at the development of education, especially with respect to the training of teachers, principals of teacher-training colleges, inspectors and educational advisers.

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5. The efforts made to date have resulted in a considerable increase in the numbers enrolled at the various levels of education over the past two decades. From 1960 to 1982, the total number of pupils and students almost doubled, rising from 436.1 million to 861.0 million. The developing countries, despite very rapid population growth, succeeded in increasing their school enrolment ratios spectacularly. In primary education, the adjusted gross school enrolment ratio rose from 72.7 per cent to 91.5 per cent during this period, while in secondary education the corresponding increase was from 16.7 per cent to 40.4 per cent and in higher education from 2 per cent to 6.3 per cent. In the industrialized countries, nearly universal school attendance was maintained at the primary level. In secondary education, the school enrolment ratio rose from 54.8 per cent to 80.5 per cent, and the aim of universal secondary education has been attained or is well on the way to being attained in some of these countries. In higher education, during the same period enrolment ratios rose from 12.8 per cent to 29.8 per cent.(1)

6. However the substantial progress thus achieved should not obscure either the persistence of certain serious problems or the obstacles that still impede the effective implementation of the right to education and its democratization. The most serious and noticeable of these problems, because of the number of human beings and countries affected by it, is that of illiteracy. In 1980 illiterate persons accounted for 60.3 per cent of the adult population of Africa, 37.4 per cent of that of Asia and 20.2 per cent of that of Latin America. The absolute numbers of illiterate persons (824 million in 1980)(2) continue to increase, because large numbers of children of primary-school age (123 million according to certain estimates) do not have access to school. Certain estimates give reason to believe that 20 per cent of all children in Latin America and about 40 per cent in Africa, in southern Asia and in the Arab States do not attend primary school. In this respect, the populations of rural areas and the outskirts of large cities, certain minorities and certain disadvantaged groups are in a situation giving grounds for special concern. In the developing countries the provision of general access to primary education will require stepped-up efforts to enact laws and devise specific programmes and practical measures aimed at helping these groups, and to overcome numerous difficulties such as shortages of financial, material and human resources, inefficient school systems, the curriculum content that is inadequately relevant to the social and economic situations of these countries, and so on.

7. In recent years there have in fact been stepped-up efforts to help certain strata of society and certain specific population groups whose education requires special measures; these are groups - in some instances very large in numbers - which have had no opportunity to exercise the right to education, or else have had access to education under very unfavourable conditions.

8. For example, considerable progress has been achieved in giving girls and women access to education; the world figures for female school attendance rose from 183.7 million in 1960 to 382.8 million in 1982 for all levels of education. The increase was particularly marked in higher education, in which female enrolment figures have increased more than fourfold, from 4.3 million in 1960 to 20.5 million in 1982. Nevertheless, in 1982 almost 60 per cent of adult illiterates were women, and girls and women made up only 44 per cent of total enrolment. The higher the level of education the smaller this percentage:

(1) A summary statistical review of education in the world, 1960-1982 - ED/BIE/CONFINTED 39/REF. 1 pp. 10-41.

(2) A summary statistical review of education in the world, 1960-1982 - ED/BIE/CONFINTED 39/REF. 1, p. 67.

whereas girls and women accounted for 45 per cent of total enrolment in primary education at that time, the corresponding figures were only 43 per cent in secondary education and 41 per cent in higher education.

9. In recent decades, a strong current of opinion has developed in favour of physically and mentally disabled persons, and this has found expression in substantial effort to develop special education of different types for different types of disability and a series of measures designed to help disabled children to find their place in normal education and thus to facilitate their integration into society and the world of work.

10. Over the same period, growth in the numbers of migrant workers has led the governments of host countries, in co-operation with those of their countries of origin and with the involvement of international organizations, especially Unesco, to develop and implement measures aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for access to education for these workers and for their children.

11. Thus equal opportunities for education are the first expression and the common goal of all educational policies aimed at promoting the democratization of education. The measures taken to achieve this generally consist of the provision of education services to more children by eliminating the obstacles they encounter, such as inadequate infrastructure, restrictive admission requirements and so on, in many instances combining the provision of these services with measures designed to encourage people to take advantage of them.

II. From equal opportunities to equal chances of success

12. The experience of several countries which have embarked on the democratization of education shows, at least in certain countries, that equal opportunities for education are not enough to guarantee equal opportunities for acquiring knowledge or obtaining employment. Quite apart from individual differences of ability, there is increasing awareness of the fact that the more socially and economically advantaged population groups benefit more from the educational services available, the more so as these are frequently designed to perpetuate their privileged situation. It has gradually been recognized that equal opportunities for success are also needed. The idea of equal opportunities for success has found expression in the adoption over the years of a whole range of measures of all sorts designed to help pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds, amounting in some instances to measures that some have called 'positive discrimination' in their favour.

13. While acknowledging that compensatory measures for the benefit of disadvantaged groups are justified and useful, one must also realize that equal opportunities for success in school require, first and foremost, efforts to achieve a general improvement in the quality of mass education and make it more relevant to the socio-economic environment. Educators were perhaps the first to grasp the fact that effective exercise of the right to education and its democratization presuppose the provision of high quality education for all. They were also the first to oppose early simplistic assertions to the effect that the quantitative expansion of education is always accompanied by a decline in its quality. In reality, the expansion of education leads to a decline in its quality only when it is not accompanied by the necessary backstopping measures, because the extension of education to all strata of society requires special measures designed to ensure its quality and high standards, taking into account all the characteristics of the society concerned.

14. Education authorities have become increasingly aware in recent years of the need to assure access for all to education of the same level and of equal quality. As an example of this, we may mention the efforts undertaken in many countries to endow schools in rural areas with resources in the form of facilities and staff equivalent to those in urban centres.

15. Equal opportunities for success in school inevitably require a certain number of measures designed to rationalize existing educational structures. In some countries there are in fact several systems operating more or less independently of each other: traditional education, education of a religious type, private education, élitist system, private and semi-public in-service training, non-formal education and training of all sorts, and so on. These rationalization measures can be intended, for example, to overcome imbalance within the public education system, as when schools in rural areas or in peri-urban settlements are overcrowded and poorly adapted to the educational process, or when secondary and higher education are primarily concentrated in urban areas. Therefore it seems necessary to avoid the development of two parallel systems of education, one based on the school, enjoying more resources and higher standards and mainly concentrated in urban areas, the other, constituting a sort of back-up system, being reserved for a rural population generally deprived of wide access to education. Such a situation would in effect institutionalize not only educational inequality but also, as a consequence, social inequality, by dividing the population into those who could continue their studies and fill the nation's higher occupational posts, and those whose education was restricted to the rudiments knowledge and whose future opportunities would be correspondingly limited.

16. The democratization of education also requires specific measures designed to ensure that the educational system is consistent and to eliminate blind alleys and the artificial barriers between various levels and the different types and channels of education. Conditions of greater mobility, both horizontal and vertical must be created within the educational system, and that mobility should ensure that each stage of education serves a double purpose: preparing students for gainful employment on the one hand, and on the other hand enabling them to continue their education and transfer from one type of education to another. The elimination of barriers between general education and technical and vocational education, allowing pupils who have completed the latter to gain access to the highest levels of academic education, is the key to overcoming the rigidity of educational structures. Other measures, facilitating entry to educational systems for those who, without having taken the usual courses, have acquired by other methods of learning the skills and knowledge which qualify them for access to a particular level, stage or type of education, can also contribute to promoting greater equality of opportunity. The same concern for mobility has led school and university authorities in many countries to change their procedures for admission, promotion and the assessment of examination results paving the way for much wider recognition of curricula, studies, qualifications and hence the skills acquired at different levels of education.

17. However providing equal opportunities for success in school by more adequately fitting education to the needs of societies is not enough to ensure the success of all. The provision of equal opportunities to those who are not equal, that is, to population groups whose economic and social positions are not comparable, will still not enable the less favoured groups to take advantage of such opportunities. Those who are already privileged often make better use of them, which simply means that inequalities are perpetuated. Equal opportunities, even if they are not restricted to the provision of formally equal opportunities for access but are expanded to include measures aimed at improving the quality of education, may well remain ineffective if

they do not take into account the special situations of particular groups, such as, for example, nomads, migrants, refugees, ethnic minorities and so on. Policies designed to provide equal opportunities for success require on the one hand certain educational measures adopted specifically with a view to offsetting the socio-cultural disadvantages of these groups, making education more relevant through lines of emphasis and content better suited to different needs, interests and motives, while at the same time providing all with a common stock of knowledge that is needed by every member of a particular society and will enable him to continue his education. On the other hand, such policies require measures of a social nature, as for example measures aimed at dietary improvement and better nutrition for children in the most disadvantaged groups, financial help for families and for students, measures to compensate for the loss of the labour power of children and young people, and so on.

18. The constant search, in pursuit of the democratization of education, for varied educational services that serve the interests of particular population groups, new structures, and content that is more relevant to the needs of societies undergoing rapid change, has, over the years, given the democratization of education a new dimension linked to the concept of a continuous educational process accompanying people all their lives, a concept which has come to be generally known as lifelong education.

III. From equal opportunities to lifelong education

19. The concept of lifelong education implies that in addition to initial education, present-day educational systems should provide every individual, whether continuously or intermittently, with the opportunity of refreshing or deepening his knowledge and training himself for vocational and social roles that are bound to change over the different stages of life, in step with the rapid pace of social change. In this context the education provided in school is no longer considered as providing the individual with a stock of knowledge valid for his entire life. It is only part, albeit perhaps the most important part, of the education to which the individual should be exposed throughout his life. Under these conditions, the democratization of education means providing all with opportunities for access and success at the different stages of lifelong education.

20. In this context, pre-school education plays a special role. Apart from its role of initiating children and preparing them for school life, it can help some young children to overcome the socio-economic and cultural handicaps from which they would otherwise have suffered during their subsequent education at school.

21. The trend towards the development of lifelong education has led education authorities in several countries to recognize, in addition to school education, the existence of other forms of education at different stages of life, to use and develop them, and finally to integrate them into their educational systems. As a result, these systems have proved better suited to answering the educational needs of various groups and taking in those who have not had access to the school or university system, have dropped out, or for various reasons wish to add to their knowledge. However, the schools still remain the central and fundamental element of the educational system, and there can be no real democratization of education without far-reaching changes in the school system and the whole system of institution-based education to make those systems better able to answer the demands of the present-day world and to define their position more clearly in relation to lifelong education. In this connection, it seems necessary to link formal education and the

various forms of non-formal education to satisfy the manifold needs of individuals and society for education and training. For example, many countries are endeavouring to establish a 'common core' consisting of a common base which, when followed by specialization and retraining will enable individuals to keep pace with the increasingly rapid process of change in the structures and specifications of the job market. This process makes it essential to update and supplement the knowledge acquired during initial training, in order to provide social and vocational mobility and facilitate the changes in direction required by the appearance of new fields of knowledge and new activities and the resultant creation of new jobs. The introduction of advanced training programmes for certain categories of persons with degrees from institutions of higher education and the establishment of people's universities and open universities are further examples of the same trend. Naturally this is of benefit to workers, who can take up their studies again, whether for vocational or purely cultural purposes. The same is true of the many young people who, to avoid unemployment, interrupt their education to secure gainful employment as soon as an opportunity turns up. Some countries have also begun to offer educational opportunities for older people. Literacy work also is more and more commonly considered and organized as the starting-point for further learning in different types of education or training. In general, the institution of lifelong education appears today as the educational prospect most likely to provide greater opportunities and offer new openings to those who need them, and to bring education closer to the life and needs of society.

IV. Specific problems

22. The logical sequence of analysis of the democratization of education ('wider access - increased opportunities for success - lifelong education') can correspond to the actual process of democratization only in its general outline, because the specific characteristics of this process in each country reflect so many completely different experiences. In addition, there are several aspects which it would be arbitrary and questionable to attribute to any particular stage and which can more properly be classified under the heading of 'specific problems'.

23. This is the case, for example, with respect to the revision of the content of education in the framework of its democratization in order to promote a spirit of peace and international understanding, values favourable to social progress and national cultures, and democratic attitudes and behaviour. It appears essential for such concerns to be taken into consideration even at the stage of the initial and in-service training of teachers and various categories of educational personnel.

24. Another aspect has to do with encouraging those involved in education to participate in the management of educational services and activities. Inasmuch as school is a micro-society where children learn from practical experience what participation, responsibility and mutual respect mean, the nature of the teacher-pupil relationship and the style of education assume special importance and can also be a contributing factor in the democratization of education. Models of democratic behaviour presuppose free expression, creativity, respect for the opinions of others, efforts to reach consensus, teamwork and so on, which can be developed among the young only in an atmosphere favourable to the application of these principles in teacher-pupil relations and in social relations within educational establishments in general.

25. The democratization of education also refers to the active and motivated participation of pupils, parents, teachers, communities and also

representatives of various social and cultural groups in the management of educational institutions and activities. The varied experiences of several countries enable us to define participation as the active, conscious, free and responsible commitment of those involved in planning and decision-making relating to educational activities and their implementation. This commitment, if it is accepted and organized, allows population groups to be associated with the measures taken to satisfy their educational needs and thus to assume their share of the responsibility for putting those decisions into effect. Furthermore, various advantages have been noted, such as the fostering of decentralization, the reduction of all sorts of disparities, the mobilization of additional resources, and the development of curricula that are more in keeping with the social, cultural and economic concerns of the participants.

26. The language of instruction is another important aspect of the democratization of education. Language conveys a set of cultural values and to a considerable extent shapes thought processes and attitudes to life. Children who are forced to be educated in a language which is not their own frequently risk being at a considerable disadvantage, with their chances of success at school jeopardized, owing to their difficulties resulting from the fact that their everyday lives are situated in a different socio-cultural and linguistic context.

27. In some countries the social demand for education produces a diversification of educational activities and structures for the benefit of different population groups: young people who have dropped out of school, workers, women inhabitants of rural areas, emigrants, retired persons, disabled persons and so on. The educational process takes the form of a great variety of educational services: short courses, on-the-job training, retraining courses, correspondence courses, educational radio and television programmes, and the like. The diversification of educational services gives rise to several problems, especially when there is no national machinery for providing co-ordination and assigning roles to the different structures. On the one hand the idea of a reduction in the role of the conventional school is gaining ground, while on the other hand the new services and structures are sometimes considered mediocre palliatives reserved for those excluded from formal education. What is more, undue and ill co-ordinated diversification, especially when it affects institution-based education, can lead to the appearance of segregated channels and dead ends in both education and employment. In the same way, the introduction of too many specialization options can in certain circumstances lead to premature specialization, something which very nearly amounts to the segregation of pupils according to the 'aptitudes' that in a great many instances are linked to the advantages or disadvantages inherent in the pupils' socio-political origin. The avoidance of these pitfalls is one of the tasks of educational policies intended to promote the democratization of education; the latter should be characterized by the complementarity and continuity of the various forms of formal and non-formal education.

28. In the case of most developing countries, where most of the people live outside urban areas, the democratization of education is frequently identified with the extension and improvement of education in rural areas, as in those areas educational services are often inadequate from the standpoint both of quantity and of quality and the content of the education provided is not sufficiently geared to the realities and needs of country life. There is a particular paucity of instruction that actually constitutes preparation for working life, especially agricultural, technical and vocational training, a situation which in a great many instances is only partly the fault of the world of education: it is also the result of the fact that the slow pace of the adoption of modern methods of production, work and management may make it

difficult for those who have had training of this sort to find outlets for their skills. In general, the schools can make a very substantial contribution to the transformation of rural life, provided society decides to undertake the task of bringing about such a transformation and decides what role the schools are to play.

29. Any policy in the field of education based on the idea of the democratization of education must be accompanied by a moral and material obligation to extend educational services and to adapt some of them to the needs of certain disadvantaged population groups, such as the physically and mentally disabled, migrants, nomads and others who, in order to exercise their right to education to the full, need special measures to help them to overcome obstacles and gain access to the educational services provided. Wider political, social and economic measures are required if the specific problems of these particular groups are to be solved, and when this is borne in mind, relevant and effective educational answers to those problems can be found.

* * * * * *

30. This survey of the problems involved in the democratization of education is far from exhaustive, because those problems are many and varied. The problems and their dimensions vary from country to country, as do the solutions sought. The analysis of these problems is actually a continuous process. Several aspects of the democratization of education have been the subject of analyses, surveys, consultations and discussions at conferences and meetings of experts at various levels organized by or with the participation of Unesco in recent years. Taking into account the results of these analyses and discussions and the results of analyses carried out by the Secretariat of Unesco in several countries, especially in the course of advisory missions for the evaluation of educational systems, it is proposed that discussions at the symposium should be centred on the following themes:

the democratization of education as a condition for the full and complete actualization of the right to education for all and a factor in the economic, social and cultural progress of society;

conditions favourable to the democratization of education, obstacles to its promotion and possible solutions with a view to overcoming them;

qualitative aspects: the improvement of the quality and effectiveness of education and the relevance of its content;

higher education: social demand, the requirements of socio-economic development, job market needs.

PART II. THEMES FOR DISCUSSION

I. The democratization of education as a condition for the full and complete actualization of the right to education for all and a factor in the economic, social and cultural progress of society.

31. The democratization of education and the economic and social progress of society are interrelated. The persistence of social and economic inequalities in the world has led to increased awareness of the need to combat such inequalities, not only from the standpoint of social justice, but also because they present very serious obstacles to socio-economic development. From this point of view, the democratization of education appears increasingly as not only an ethical requirement and a prerequisite for the full development of the individual, but also a condition of social progress and economic development. At a time when the rate of scientific and technical progress is increasing and all sections of the population aspire to participate more actively in economic, cultural and social life, democratization is essential as a means of ensuring that all individuals enjoy the full exercise of their right to education and thus of preparing them to play their part in the increasingly complex transformations of their societies that are surely in store.

32. The process of the democratization of education results in the provision of an increasing variety of educational services of higher quality to growing numbers of people, and this makes it possible for education to exercise to the full its functions in society, such as increasing ethical awareness, transmitting knowledge and skills and heightening the citizen's sense of social responsibility. In the words of the first part of Unesco's 2nd Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1987, devoted to the analysis of world problems, 'To ensure continuity in each society and to promote its renewal without detriment to its inherent genius would appear to be the essential purpose of education in its twofold functions of social reproduction and innovation; the school is the place above all others where the cultural heritage of each people can be transmitted and perpetuated, while it simultaneously paves the way for social renewal by inculcating the attitudes and aptitudes that people need in order to take part in change and to master it' (paragraph 143).

33. The multidimensional development of society is a constant process of seeking solutions for all the problems confronting it. Education, to be sure, is not an immediate factor in solving most of these problems, especially problems that are characteristic of areas still suffering from poverty and its various attendant evils: famine and malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, deterioration of the environment and so on. Nevertheless, the contribution of education is by no means negligible when it is not restricted to a social, economic or ethnic minority and is not closed to technological progress and the aspirations of the masses.

34. The participants may wish to define more precisely the role played by the democratization of education in specific fields of the life of a society, such as the national economy, changes in the socio-economic and socio-vocational structure of the population, the affirmation of cultural identity in the context of the development of universal cultural values, the environment, regional and international co-operation, and the like. In what conditions and/or by what means could this role be even more important? Do education policies take this role of the democratization of education sufficiently into account?

II. Conditions favourable to the democratization of education, obstacles to its promotion and possible solutions with a view to overcoming them

35. Analysis of the various aspects of the democratization of education reveals a number of problems that are frequently encountered by those responsible for educational policies and by educators, in the form of obstacles to be overcome or the need to create more favourable conditions for the further democratization of education.

36. The obstacle most frequently noted is the lack of infrastructure and of resources in general. In many developing countries, despite severe overloading of the existing infrastructure (classrooms which are sometimes occupied by 80 or more pupils), thousands and thousands of children cannot attend school because the nearest school is incomplete, too far away or overcrowded. That is why the lack of classroom space, especially at the primary level , is still the most serious obstacle to school attendance by children, and the situation is made more acute by the high rate of population growth typical of the developing countries. According to the projections prepared by Unesco within the framework of the 'Reflection on the Future Development of Education' project(1), because of population growth, merely to maintain in the year 2000 the primary-school enrolment ratios achieved in 1980 will require an increase in primary-school enrolment figures of 40 per cent in comparison with 1980. To increase those ratios, growth in numbers enrolled and hence in classroom space would have to be even higher. For example, to achieve a 95 per cent enrolment ratio this group of countries would have to increase numbers enrolled by 55 per cent between 1980 and the year 2000, and would have to increase them by about 63 per cent to achieve an enrolment ratio of 100 per cent.

37. The situation in this field is frequently aggravated by the existence of disparities in the distribution of the services and resources made available for education, a situation which has repercussions on the quality of the education provided.

38. In developing countries the democratization of education, especially as regards its qualitative aspects, is frequently hampered by shortages of qualified teachers and inadequate facilities for the design and production of curricula, educational materials, textbooks and school equipment and supplies. All this is generally due to the lack of financial resources affecting the majority of developing countries. Although in that group of countries public expenditure on education increased twentyfold from $4,100 million in 1960 to $91,800 million in 1981, its share in the Gross National Product (GNP) rose from 2.3 per cent in 1960 to 4.1 per cent in 1981. In 1981, the total expenditure of the industrialized countries on education was 5.8 times as much as that of the developing countries, and eleven times as much in terms of per capita expenditure(2). During the first half of the 1980s public expenditure on education in several countries has tended to be marked by slower growth or even to decline in absolute figures, and this trend threatens to result in deterioration in the situation of resources for education and hence to jeopardize the prospects for its democratization.

39. The present economic crisis and the lack of progress towards the establishment of a new international economic order threaten to impede the process of the democratization of education both because of the problem of the availability of resources and because of social changes in the countries affected. Clearly, in an adverse international situation, inequalities of social status

(1) Source: Reflexion sur le developpement futur de l'éducation, 1984, - p. 304.

(2) A summary statistical review of education in the world, 1960-1982. pp.71-3.

and the internal distribution of income are unlikely to become less marked. Education on its own is incapable not only of establishing equality in an unequal society or justice within an unjust social order, but also of avoiding the adverse impact of social inequality on the ability of education itself to afford equal opportunities for access to and success in school. It is often suggested that the educational systems of certain countries, both developing or developed, contribute to political, social and economic inequalities, especially by their methods of pupil selection and guidance, and that they reflect the values and interests of the dominant or privileged social strata. These arguments are further proof that the prospects for the democratization of education depend largely on those for the democratization of society, the absence of which is a serious obstacle to the elimination of inequalities in the field of education.

40. Another obstacle to the democratization of education is the social, ethical, sexist and other prejudices of parents, communities and the environment. The children of families belonging to certain castes and girls from certain traditional backgrounds, to mention only those examples, are frequent victims of such prejudices.

41. Participants in the symposium will certainly be able to add to this brief summary of the obstacles to the democratization of education from their own experience and observations on the subject. They are invited to make a deeper analysis of these obstacles and to try to outline possible measures to help overcome them. To broach the discussion they may wish to try to suggest answers to such questions as: What means are there of mobilizing greater financial, material and human resources for education in present conditions? Are there any possibilities of making a more rational use of the resources available? To what extent is it feasible to draw on the experience of certain countries which, with relatively modest resources, have succeeded in advancing further towards the democratization of education? What form do obstacles of a social or economic nature take in the participants' own countries, and what means are available to national education authorities for overcoming them? What other obstacles to the democratization of education have been encountered in countries or regions with which the participants are familiar or of which they are nationals? To what degree have priorities and urgent needs in the fields of health, nutrition and rural development affected education? Are there gaps in the co-ordination of activities for disadvantaged groups in this field? What obstacles to the democratization of education are there that may arise from education itself (book-based teaching divorced from reality, low efficiency and so on), and what corrective means are available? What can educators and national education authorities do to overcome obstacles and to promote equality in the field of education within the context of their several spheres of responsibility, means and opportunities? Should the quantitative growth of educational services be the main criterion for measuring the degree of democratization of education? Do the expansion of educational systems and increases in school enrolment ratios lead necessarily, and proportionately, to the creation of more equal opportunities for access to education and success in school at the various levels? If not, what conditions should be met in order for this to be the case? Are high enrolment ratios at the various levels an adequate indicator of an educational system's progress towards the democratization of education? Conversely, should an educational system which does not yet take in all children at its various levels be regarded as making no progress in this direction? If not, on the basis of what indicators can the state and direction of movement of such a system be regarded as answering the purposes of the democratization of education? What is the explanation for the considerable discrepancies between the enrolment ratios of countries with similar resources at their disposal (in terms of, for example, per capita GNP)? In this connection, what is the role of educational policies and what is

the relationship between educational policies and financial resources in achieving democratization?

42. It would be desirable if discussion on these themes could lead to the identification of the nature of existing obstacles and the establishment of a summary of innovative practices and measures taken, results obtained, gaps observed and difficulties encountered at the various levels, with a view to overcoming obstacles and/or creating favourable conditions for promotion of the democratization of education.

III. Qualitative aspects: the improvement of the quality and effectiveness of education and the relevance of its content

43. The progress recorded throughout the world in widening access to education - following the explosion of social demand for education on the one hand, and the efforts undertaken to satisfy it on the other - were initially rewarded by an improvement in quantitative indices, especially that of numbers enrolled. However, it seems that this expansion has not everywhere been followed by changes in the content of education and teaching methods. There is a close link between enrolment ratios at a particular level of education and the nature of its content: the higher the enrolment ratio, the less elitist the content should be. The role of the schools as they used to be was to prepare the minority or 'elite' of society for purely intellectual or administrative work. Mass education should have developed types of content suited to the various social roles of its pupils. However, any lack of balance between the pace of quantitative expansion and the pace of changes in structures, content and teaching methods cannot fail to be keenly felt by public opinion. This is what is happening at present in certain countries where, because of the speed of expansion, schools are unable to change the content of education and teaching methods at the same pace. This leads to dissatisfaction with schools, that serve only the interests of the privileged, ignoring those of disadvantaged strata, and also leads to an increasingly acute awareness of the fact that the democratization of education now involves not only providing more general access to education, but also - and perhaps above all - improving the quality of the education provided by making its content, structures and teaching methods and techniques more closely attuned and more relevant to the new socio-economic reality and to the needs of individuals and those of societies undergoing rapid change. Today, to democratize education means not only to open the schools to all and make posts formerly reserved for those from favoured backgrounds available to some people from modest backgrounds, but also to prepare all pupils for gainful employment, to equip them all with the knowledge and skills that will enable each of them to find his place in society, even though it is true that some societies are not yet in a position to achieve their development at a sufficiently rapid pace to keep abreast of these aims of educational policy.

44. Over the past 10-15 years there have been increasing numbers of initiatives aimed at making education more relevant to the socio-economic environment and increasing the effectiveness of educational systems: revision of curricula, especially in history and geography, increasing use of mother tongues or national languages for instruction, pilot projects for the integration of education into the rural environment, the introduction of productive work into educational curricula, the development of education-by-objective curricula, the establishment of channels for post-primary rural and crafts training, many experiments in career guidance and pre-vocational training within general education, measures to back up national facilities for the development of curricula and production of educational materials, new methods of pupil evaluation and promotion, and many other initiatives and measures.

However, it seems that these measures are still inadequate, given the scope and extent of the task of promoting the qualitative aspects of the democratization of education.

45. It is sometimes suggested that a drop in the quality of teaching is inevitable when access to education is extended to greater numbers of children. Of course, there are countries in which periods of quantitative expansion have been marked by a drop in the quality and the effectiveness of teaching, but there is no proof of a causal link between these two facts. On the other hand, some analyses show that in a number of countries quantitative expansion has not been accompanied by adequate backstopping. Unesco's 2nd Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989 is clear on this point: 'Quantity and quality [are] not necessarily mutually exclusive, as experience has shown. The expansion of education only leads to a lowering of quality if it is not coupled with such necessary measures as the training of sufficient numbers of qualified teachers, the provision of suitable and well-equipped classrooms, the introduction of appropriate teaching materials and any other measures needed to take account of special local circumstances' (paragraph 2015).

46. The quality of education is largely conditional on the financial, material and human resources allocated to it. As has already been said, in the case of most countries there has been, if not a reduction in the financial resources devoted to education, at any rate a decrease in the rate of growth of such resources. Even so, there are plenty of cases where, with the same resources, the higher priority given to education, reflecting stronger national concern, has made it possible to obtain better results. For example, despite resources which are sometimes scanty, some countries are close to achieving universal primary-school enrolment, while others are still far from it.

47. The quality of teaching is often unsatisfactory, a situation that results in unsatisfactory performance on the part of school systems. In the developing countries, wastage - repeating and dropping out - affects nearly 40 per cent of all pupils during the first four years of primary education. When pupils repeat the accommodation capacity of the school system is reduced, and dropping out leads to illiteracy. The causes are both educational and social: the irrelevance of curricula, the use of languages of instruction which are not those spoken by the children, lack of facilities and teaching materials, overcrowded classes, inadequately or poorly trained teachers and so on. On the social side, we may note the uneven quality of educational services, the existence of rural primary schools offering incomplete courses of study, the remoteness of schools from pupils' homes so that in many instances they have to travel long distances, the fact that pupils are inadequately or improperly nourished, the poverty of families, which compels them to use the children's labour, school calendar that are poorly geared to the living and working conditions of the population, especially as regards agricultural work, and lack of socio-cultural support for children enrolled at school from their home background where that background is traditionally oriented, as it frequently is.

48. Insufficient relevance of the content of education, both in the developing countries and in certain industrialized countries, is often the source of young people's lack of interest in education: the content of theoretical and book-based education is at variance with reality as experienced by children and young people. In many developing countries of course, this problem of relevance is particularly acute because curricula still bear the imprint of their predecessors that were imported during the colonial period without reference to the physical and human, cultural, economic or political environment of the countries concerned.

49. Bearing the foregoing paragraphs in mind, the participants in the symposium may consider it useful to discuss the problems raised and to exchange their experiences. They may wish to consider the following questions relating to qualitative aspects of the democratization of education: What can be done so that the quantitative expansion of numbers enrolled is followed by better adaptation of the content of the education provided? By what means can the efficiency of educational systems be improved and repetition and drop-out ratios improved? How might it be feasible to encourage, in teacher-training courses, sufficient awareness of these essential factors, which refer to educational policies no less than to the teaching process? What economic, financial, social and cultural measures on behalf of disadvantaged strata should be envisaged as a means of reducing school wastage? Should not the policy governing distribution of the funds allocated to education and international co-operation in the field of education be directed substantially towards the strengthening of national educational industries in order to obtain a fuller and more effective return on the resources allocated to education and to upgrade the quality of education? To what extent could the participation of parents, communities and socio-cultural organizations contribute to improving the qualitative aspects of education?

IV. Higher education: social demand, the requirements of socio-economic development and the needs of the job market

50. Higher education expanded spectacularly between 1960 and 1982. Over this period, the numbers of students in the world (exclusive of China) rose by a factor of 3.8, from 13.2 million to 49.6 million. In the developing countries their numbers increased by a factor of more than 5.6, from 3.6 million to 20.1 million, and the proportion of total enrolment accounted for by this category increased from 27.2 per cent in 1960 to 40.4 per cent in 1982.(1)

51. This rapid growth was due to several factors, of which the two most important are worth mentioning here. One was the demand created by economic and social development, both in the developed countries, which experienced a long period of expansion, and in the developing countries, whose accession to independence aroused very strong aspirations for rapid progress in all areas of the life of their societies. The second factor was the strong social demand for higher education from all strata of society, and for this also there were grounds in both groups of countries. In fact, social demand of this kind results primarily from people's aspirations to find places in different fields of the life of society on the basis of their educational achievements.

52. Social demand for education has a complex relationship with accommodation capacity and, especially at the level of higher education, with employment opportunities. As a result, the pressure of social demand leads to two successive shocks: firstly it comes up against the lack of accommodation capacity, and then it runs into limits in the supply of employment (quantitative limits, discrepancies in job specifications and in the quality of training, and so on). The search for democratic solutions to the problems arising from these two shocks is part of the general process of the democratization of education.

53. These shocks are first felt, as is also the case with other levels of education, by children from socially modest backgrounds, especially those from families of manual workers, who experience the most difficulty, both as regards selection for entry to university and during the course of study. In a number of countries most of the students in higher education come from

(1) A summary statistical review of education in the world, 1960-1982. p. 22

socially and culturally privileged backgrounds; the general growth in numbers has not changed this situation appreciably over the past two decades. Various measures have been implemented in several countries to help these disadvantaged strata (scholarships, subsidies, various facilities, new educational activities, overhauled procedures and criteria for admission, promotion and assessment, and so on), but the problem of providing more equal opportunities for access and academic success is still far from solved. According to the estimates given in a publication of the European Institute for Education, 20 per cent to 30 per cent of the members of the age group concerned are at present engaged in higher education in Western Europe. Roughly one-third of the university students in that region are women and only 12 per cent are of working-class origin, whereas in conditions of equality the figures for these two groups should be 50 per cent in the case of women and 35 per cent to 45 per cent (depending on the country) for students of working-class origin.(1)

54. Neither statistics nor reasonably accurate estimates on this subject are available for the developing countries. However, some observers consider that concurrently with the efforts for the democratization of education there is a growing trend towards inequalities 'on the geographical level, between urban and rural areas, on the level of the sexes, between men and women, on the level of the generations, between young people and adults, on the social level, between rich and poor and on the fiscal level because in effect the poor subsidize the rich. In India, the most privileged social strata derive four times as much benefit from the educational system as the poorest, and yet the latter, through indirect taxation, contribute 80 per cent of the cost of that system.(2)

55. The excess of social demand over accommodation capacity raises the question of selection/recruitment with respect to institutions of higher education. In theory, there are two systems of selection, one, generally attributed to the socialist coutries, consisting of selection on the basis of the future needs of society by means of competitive entrance examinations, while the other, attributed to the Western countries, is supposedly a free access system. In reality, the situation is more complicated, because these two approaches do not exist in a pure and unmixed form.

- Firstly, elements of various types of selection exist in several countries that lean towards the free access system;

- Secondly, in the socialist countries there are institutions to which admission is granted through non-competitive entrance examinations;

- Thirdly, both groups of countries have full-scale systems of educational services (evening classes, correspondence classes and so on) that are independent of full-time vocational courses and are geared to satisfying the vocational and cultural aspirations of people according to their personal needs;

- Fourthly, in Western countries selection has taken place mainly at the secondary education level, thus eliminating a large number of potential candidates for higher education;(3)

(1) H. Jaune, T. Husen: Egalité de chances d'accès à l'enseignement: deux points de vue, 1981. p. 58.
(2) Reflexion sur le developpement futur de l'éducation, p. 105.
(3) One quarter of French young people of a given age group successfully complete their secondary education, as compared with 33.2 per cent in Belgium, 36.8 per cent in Italy, 75 per cent in the U.S.A. and 85.6 per cent in Japan. Le Monde, 4 January 1985.

- Fifthly, free access often means the formal absence of formal restrictions while many restrictions of a material, social, educational or other type remain invisible.

56. Thus selection, whether open and organized or latent, exists almost everywhere and, from the standpoint of the democratization of education, it might be better not to deny the fact of selection or regard it as an intrinsically negative phenomenon, but rather to make sure that selection is carried out as democratically as possible.

57. In the search for ways of making selection more democratic, what subsequently happens to graduates should be taken into consideration. However attractive free access may be, it implies a lack of co-ordination between the number of graduates and the number of jobs available and thus leads to the frustration of unemployed graduates, to say nothing of the waste of financial resources involved in large-scale graduate unemployment.

58. The two shocks produced by social demand, one at the time of entering university and the other at the time of leaving it, have repercussions on the young, the educational system and society itself, and each type of society tries in its own way to find solutions to the problems which arise.

59. It would seem that at present the developing countries are the most vulnerable in this respect. These countries have inherited or established educational systems tending, in most cases, towards the free admission of all who wish to continue their studies in higher education after completing secondary education, an approach which seemed legitimate in the 1960s in view of the restrictions and discrimination of the colonial period, the very limited number of students completing secondary education and the scale of demand for qualified local personnel in newly independent States. However, these countries have encountered more and more difficulties springing not only from the organization of their educational systems but also, and to an even greater extent, from their social and economic environments. The expansion of primary education and, partially, of secondary education, under conditions of limited development of post-primary vocational education leading to jobs, produces a sort of race for the highest possible qualifications, which are seen as the only guarantee of secure and stable social status and renumeration. However, this process is exceeding the capacity of the employment market to respond. With the civil service quickly saturated, indeed supersaturated, the few modern semi-public or private firms, whether local or (more commonly) foreign, cannot offer enough employment to keep pace with the output of graduates. Although qualified personnel are needed in large quantities in industry, agriculture, health and education itself, the low level of solvent demand from the job market severely restricts graduate employment. In many instances the flood of students is so heavy that national universities are unable to provide the conditions needed for a sound educational process, and this makes it difficult to train highly qualified specialists. Students who repeat years or drop out place a heavy burden on education budgets of which a substantial part should be allocated to scholarships. The drop-out rate of a given cohort sometimes amounts to 80 per cent over the period of study, and those who have failed often find themselves rootless and without training for any kind of job. Consequently, in some countries the universities 'produce' large numbers of traumatized young people without degrees and somewhat smaller numbers of graduates whose prospects of finding a place in society are just dubious in the current social and economic context. Thus young people's aspirations to high-status professional fields with limited absorptive capacity lead a great many of them into dead-end situations, because their society, unable to suggest appropriate democratic selection procedures, imitates a type of university organization that is geared to reproducing the

social structure and mode of production of a completely different society. The individual discontent of the young (other than young people from the privileged classes, who according to some observers, manage to avoid the pitfalls) is not the only cost of such imitation, because inasmuch as the unit cost of higher education is vastly greater than that of primary education, the countries in question waste considerable resources which could be used more rationally in the framework of a management policy suited to the social demand for education.

60. The participants in the symposium may wish to analyse this problem in greater depth and suggest valid solutions. They are invited to discuss the following questions in particular: Given the specific roles of higher education in society, may it not be necessary to specify the meaning of the concept of the democratization of such education in relation to the concept as it applies to other levels of education? To what extent do present higher education policies take into account the need for its democratization, especially for the benefit of disadvantaged classes and categories? What type of university admission policy would be simultaneously effective and democratic taking into account the requirements and limitations of the present social and economic situation of the various groups of countries? How can the internal life of the universities be made more democratic? Should the issue of the placement of young graduates in society be taken into consideration in the development of policies for the democratization of higher education, and if so, how?

61. The search for answers to this last question may lead to a search for ways and means of linking the right to education with the right to work.

REPORT ON DISCUSSIONS

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THEME I - DEMOCRATIZATION AS THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

I.1 The discussion centred on the content of the democratization of education understood as individuals' right to education, but most speakers were primarily concerned to define that content by setting education in the overall context of the democratization of society and of socio-economic development.

I.1.1 A broad consensus of opinion was reached on the idea that the democratization of education implies, at least, the concrete materialization of the right to primary education, in other words, primary enrolment of all children of school age regardless of race, religion or sex. It was clear from the statements made that the primary-school-for-all goal was far from being reached in many developing countries and needed to be a priority in their educational development plans. In addition, several speakers felt that adult literacy should be included even in a restrictive definition of the right to education and proposed that this be given the same level of priority as primary schooling.

I.1.2 With regard to primary education, several speakers dwelt on the need for it to be made compulsory and for every necessary step to be taken to encourage or require parents to send their children to school.

I.1.3 That it should be free was also, in the view of the majority of those taking part, an essential aspect - and an outward sign - of democratization, although differing opinions were expressed on this point.

One participant, for example, drew attention to the need to consider the prevailing socio-political context. In highly inegalitarian, non-democratic social systems where degressive taxation generally placed the burden of financing education on the popular classes, free education largely benefited the children of the privileged social groups. In such situations a differential policy restricting free education to the children of the disadvantaged social strata seemed preferable.

This logic was held to be inapplicable and inacceptable, however, for societies where the social structures were not yet differentiated and crystallized. In those circumstances - typical of many developing countries - free education is necessary and benefits the vast majority of schoolchildren with poor backgrounds. Some participants believed that even if this were not altogether the case the free principle should be maintained because of the importance of its psychological effect and its impact on progress towards the primary-school-for-all objective.

I.1.4 On the other hand, most participants felt free education, of itself, was insufficient to ensure attendance at school by all children of school-age, bearing in mind the poverty level of certain populations, and therefore recommended that the State should assist in meeting the social costs of education either by the grant of scholarships or providing free transport, board and lodging and equipment for schoolchildren and thus, in the words of one speaker, make education really free.

I.1.5 These measures were treated by other participants from the viewpoint of equality of opportunity, another essential dimension of the democratization of education. Seen in that light their purpose is to ensure equal chances of success for all children by making good the physical handicap of disadvantaged

children. In this way they would be part of a broader policy whose other features would relate to the allocation of investment resources and the creation of educational infrastructures, not to forget the adaptation of educational content and methods, teacher training, etc. At the overall level the purpose of such a policy is to reduce regional disparities in the development of education and the inequalities suffered by certain categories, such as rural populations, the disabled and other disadvantaged groups (nomads, ethnic minorities, etc.).

I.1.6 The equality of opportunity notion itself was also discussed. Some participants pointed out that it could not be restricted to access to and completion of education but should extend to access to employment and social status, both of which depend less on the level of education than on social origin and, at another level, on the organization of society. That being so, a policy for equality of opportunity implies structural changes concerning not only the education system itself but society as a whole and is inseparable from a policy for the democratization of society itself.

I.1.7 With regard to the secondary and higher levels of education, a consensus was also reached on the idea that access for all to these levels could be neither a right nor an objective achievable by an early date. As certain speakers said, nowhere is secondary and higher education regarded as a right less still as a compulsory requirement.

Most participants agreed that education at these levels was to be regarded as an investment and that, in its development, account had to be taken of available resources, the requirements of social and economic development and its social utility. From that standpoint particular attention was given to its links with employment.

I.1.8 At these levels of education democratization essentially consisted in equality of availability of educational resources for all and equality of opportunity of access to and completion of education, and implied measures such as the elimination of registration fees, free teaching, the grant of scholarships or free social benefits in kind to students from the disadvantaged social groups, the deconcentration of educational infrastructures etc.

All participants also agreed that democratization meant the real adaptation of training to the needs of employment as a prerequisite for these educational levels to make an effective contribution to economic development and social mobility.

I.1.9 Lastly, it is at these educational levels that equality of opportunity extends to the socio-economic integration of the graduates they produce, implying structural changes in the education system and in society as a whole, as has already been said.

I.2 Thus the democratization of education cannot be reduced to the definition and exercise of a right and confined to the education system, still less to one segment of that system. All participants agreed on seeing it as a process that was part and parcel of the dynamics of economic development and of the democratization of society.

This approach led participants to place the accent on the dialectical analysis of relations between the democratization of education and economic

and social development. It also induced them, as can be seen from the foregoing, to display great caution in the interpretation of what were traditionally regarded as the criteria of the democratization of education. Lastly, it prompted them to propose measures, point to paths of change and identify conditions not confined to the education system alone, and thus to treat the democratization of education as one aspect of the overall process of the democratization of society and socio-economic development.

I.2.1 The link between the democratization of education and the democratization of society was the common thread running through all the statements that were made. Essentially the logic goes like this: education contributes to social progress by increasing social mobility, propagating new values sensitive to social progress and economic development and thus helping to change attitudes in that regard.

But education, as a feature of the social superstructure, cannot be an independent source of social change. It is itself determined by the social organization and participates in its reproduction. It can have positive social change effects, therefore, only if there is within society a political will for social change and development and if the process of the democratization of society is already launched.

I.2.2 In the general framework of this analysis, several speakers made a point of illustrating - from actual experience - the mechanisms whereby inegalitarian and non-democratic societies inhibit the democratization of education and, more than that, the democratization of society. The discussion brought out three essential inhibiting factors that are located within the educational system itself and concern its organization, styles of management and the ideological content it conveys and, outside it, in the social processes of resource allocation and social promotion.

With regard to this latter point it is the preferential allocation of resources to the education sectors responding to the requirements of the leading classes, often to the detriment of the population's basic education, and the decisive role of social origin in the mechanisms of social promotion that holds back the democratization of education and of society.

At the level of the organization of education, it is its centralized, non-democratic management excluding, that is to say, the population, teachers, students and their parents from participation in discussion and decision-making on the organization, operation and development of the education system, and the failure to make allowance for the specific characteristics and educational, cultural and economic needs of the various social groups, that constitute the main factor inhibiting democratization. On top of this there are the effects of the often dualist structure of the education networks, in which a mass training sector of a low cultural and scientific level without any guarantee of employment openings is juxtaposed with an education sector for the ruling élite, access to which is restricted, by means of different selection methods, to the children of the dominant social strata, and those of the selection and guidance systems, the high cost of education, etc.

For its part, the ideological and ethical content conveyed by education is that secreted by the dominant social classes and ensures the acceptance of the existing social organization and the relevant type of school.

I.2.3 The above analysis points to the directions in which action to promote democratization will be most decisive. At the level of the education system itself it is primarily a matter of its restructuring and deconcentration, the decentralization and democratization of its management and the planning of its development, the redefinition of its content, the improvement of conditions of access, the institution of democratic planning to ensure the fair distribution

of resources in an overall development perspective and new rules ensuring equality for all with regard to employment and providing for the social and occupational promotion of the most disadvantaged.

I.2.4 As regards economic development, the democratization of education contributes by training an intellectual, scientific and technical élite and highly qualified manpower and, more generally, by raising the average cultural scientific and technical level of the population. Several speakers drew attention to the considerable importance of these effects at the present time because of the decisive role in the development process of progress in science and technology, with, as its consequence, a change in the nature of work - increasingly away from direct production tasks and towards those of design, organization, management and control - and a heightening of the skills involved.

I.2.5 That having been said, the development of education is itself first and fundamentally determined by the level of development and the nature of the economic organization. The object of several statements was to analyse the inhibiting effect of economic dependence still characteristic of many developing countries and the present organization of the world economy. The unequal trading situation and indebtedness are clearly the two main obstacles under this heading to the provision of resources for the development of education.

I.2.6 On that basis, the restructuring of the economies of the developing countries in particular and of the world economy in general are prerequisites in any strategy for the democratization of education.

To achieve that democratization two other noteworthy suggestions were also made. The first concerns the allocation of resources, which needs to meet the requirements not only of the harmonious development of the education system but also, in the interests of the democratization of education itself, of development in general.

The second concerns the quantitative and qualitative matching of education to employment.

THEME II - CONDITIONS FAVOURABLE TO THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION, OBSTACLES TO ITS PROMOTION AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS WITH A VIEW TO OVERCOMING THEM

The records show that 26 statements were made on this subject. During the discussion, speakers endeavoured to identify the obstacles to the democratization of education in the light of actual experience or known examples and to suggest, as far as possible, solutions for overcoming them.

II.1 The dominant feature of the discussion was the analysis of the decisive effect of the social, political and economic structures on the democratization of education. A very broad consensus was reached on the idea that it is at this level that lie the essential obstacles to the democratization of education and that the main corrective action needs to be applied. The main gist of the discussion and of the solutions proposed on this point is set out under I.2 above.

II.2 At the level of the education system itself, the participants saw rigidity, uniformity in the management and planning of education and their often centralized and non-democratic nature as a first series of major obstacles to the democratization of education. Discussion focused primarily on the correction of these factors.

II.2.1 With regard to planning, a first recommendation relates to its decentralization or regionalization, this being understood in the broad sense to include the decentralization or regionalization of the content of education. This decentralization or regionalization of educational development planning was regarded by all participants as an essential means of allowing for the specific features, constraints and educational, cultural and economic requirements of the different groups of population and the different regions and thus of ensuring the personal development of individuals, improving the efficiency of the education system, equalizing the chances of success at school and in life and finally making education contribute to harmonious development at the regional level.

Some speakers, however, were sceptical about the practical possibilities, adducing the argument of the concentration of resources with the central authority and the impossibility, because of the volume of knowledge to be taught, of reconciling a sound scientific and technical training with basic learning ensuring the unity of the nation, and the modulation of teaching programmes.

It has to be pointed out, however, that aside from this difference of opinion there was agreement on the need for specific measures in favour of regions with leeway to make up and for making allowance for different regions and groups of population with regard to the democratization of education.

In this regard, particular attention was drawn to the need to pay special heed to women, rural populations and ethnic minorities and thus to give practical effect to the international agreements and Unesco recommendations regarding the abolition of discrimination of all kinds in education.

II.2.2 A second recommendation relates to the need to democratize the planning and also, incidentally, the management of educational institutions. The institutionalized participation of the representatives of social and trade union organizations, production sectors and naturally teachers', students' and parents' associations in decision-making concerning the organization, functioning and development of the education system was, in the eyes of all the participants, an essential condition for the promotion of democratization. It is the

materialization of the principles of democratic management and ensures that the objectives of educational development are in harmony with those of a cultural and social or economic nature that society sets itself.

II.2.3 With regard to the management of education, its lack of dynamism and flexibility are some of the reasons for failure, wastage and unequal performance at school. Improvement in these two areas - essential for the democratization of education - is a matter of introducing, in addition to the decentralization and regionalization of education, flexibility in teaching giving more latitude to the teacher in defining the content of the curriculum, the rate of progress and the choice of teaching methods and allowing him to adapt his teaching to the constraints and requirements of his class. This obviously implies thorough scientific and pedagogical training for teachers to give them the possibility and capability of so adapting their methods.

II.3 Still in the context of the education system itself, the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of human and material resources constitutes a second major series of obstacles to the democratization of education. Suggestions were also made on this point to improve education and ensure its democratization.

II.3.1 Inadequacies of teaching staff and their qualifications are a primary factor in inhibiting the promotion of the democratization of education. These inadequacies do not seem solely or mainly attributable to the absence or weakness of skilled human potential. The potential often exists but is ill-applied, in particular because of an inadequate structure of remuneration. In this connection some speakers referred to the drain of national senior teachers to other countries when the home education system lacked skilled supervision and to the fact that sometimes recourse had to be had to foreign assistance, with all the dangers that implied at the cultural, social and economic levels. The recommendations therefore relate to the implementation of measures to upgrade the status of teachers, the raising of whose level of remuneration is the most important aspect as a way of attracting the best material to the education sector and keeping it there.

II.3.2 Several suggestions, referred to under Theme III, were also made to improve the qualification of teachers and to ensure their participation in the discussion of and decision-making on the organization, operation and development of the education system and to ensure its greater effectiveness and democratization.

II.3.3 For some speakers the ideology or ethics of teachers and the values they transmit via their teaching are just as important an obstacle to the democratization of education as their (lack of) qualification. In one actual case, for example, it was possible to see how the conservative and authoritarian values internalized by teachers and schoolchildren can effectively thwart the resolve to democratize education and society. Where that is so, one of the prime objectives of a strategy for the democratization of education and one of the preliminary steps in the process of democratizing society consists in changing the outlook and ethics of the teachers.

II.3.4 The same issue was addressed by certain speakers in its international dimension. They brought out the dangers of the cultural, social and economic deviations bound up with the large-scale recourse to foreign teaching staff or to foreign training of teacher trainers and recommended that, preferably, such training should be given locally.

II.4 Financial resources are another constraint on the democratization of education. Several speakers, for example, stressed that education budgets had now reached a ceiling that it would be difficult henceforward to exceed.

II.4.1 Opinions varied, however, on the nature of the constraint and on ways of overcoming it. Most speakers felt that it had to do with the economic, social and political structures and the present system of international economic relations and that rising above it would require a radical transformation of these structures and of the present international economic order.

II.4.2 That being so, several suggestions were made to enlarge educational institutions' resources and help finance education. One was to reform the manner in which educational institutions were financed and in this way to increase their financial independence. It was also suggested that communities' efforts and initiatives to create new educational infrastructures should be encouraged. Lastly, all participants agreed that, in the context of the present crisis, greater rigour was necessary in the use of available resources and several practical proposals along those lines were made.

II.4.3 Recourse to international financing, however, raised more controversy. Several speakers recalled that it was often tied to certain political and economic conditions and at best to certain pedagogical conditions that carry the risk of turning the developing countries into veritable experimental areas and creating lasting deviations of an educational, cultural or social nature. Several speakers, however, stressed the need for some countries to make use of international finance. Here, the preferential development of multilateral co-operation under the wing of international organizations like Unesco would clearly be a way towards solutions reconciling recourse to external borrowing with the safeguarding of national sovereignty.

THEME III - QUALITATIVE ASPECTS: THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATION AND THE RELEVANCE OF ITS CONTENT

The discussion, which included 24 interventions, bore largely on the notion of the quality of education and the factors affecting it.

III.1 Speakers pointed out the inexactness of the term quality of education; they preferred to use more operational and significant concepts such as relevance and effectiveness.

The discussion also enabled the levels to be defined at which the effectiveness of education and the related content could be gauged.

The effectivness of the education system may be assessed at the individual level, for example, in which case effectiveness measures the ability of the system to ensure personal development and the realization of the individual's intellectual potential.

At the level of the system itself and in a quantitative sense, effectiveness is a measure of its ability to ensure the success of the maximum number or to reduce failure and wastage to the minimum.

Lastly, at the level of society, effectiveness expresses the degree to which individuals are prepared for their integration in the productive and social processes. This implies the acquisition of knowledge and the development of aptitudes and capabilities which enable the learner to understand his natural, social, economic and cultural environment and to fit harmoniously into it and provide the necessary preparation for employment and for the exercise of social responsibilities.

III.2 Speakers were unanimous in the view that the improvement of effectiveness called for global action meeting all the requirements of the learner and involving all the constituents of the education system: management, curricula and methods, the teacher-pupil relationship, and social aspects.

An even broader approach was proposed. Given the decisive weight of social origin in success at school and the inability of schools, of themselves, to make good this kind of handicap, it was proposed, as a way of ensuring the real democratization of education and to increase the effectiveness of the education system, to integrate all structures having a cultural, educative or training role in one overall education action.

In this general framework, however, three aspects were considered with particular attention by the participants: the qualification of teachers, the adaptation of education programmes and methods and the introduction of pedagogical assessment and research.

III.2.1 The qualification of teachers and their participation in the assessment and improvement of the education system are regarded as crucial factors in the effectiveness of education and their improvement needs therefore to constitute one of the main thrusts for action to increase that effectiveness.

With regard to the first aspect, speakers stressed the need for a sound scientific training imparting real scientific knowledge and enabling the teacher not only to transpose this knowledge but also to analyse and adapt it to national and local reality. To that end it was suggested that the period of teacher training be lengthened and that it be at university level, as far as possible, even for primary teachers.

The need for sound training in teaching techniques was similarly stressed in order to give the teacher the ability to analyse pedagogical situations and the teaching requirements of learners and to adapt the contents of their teaching and their working methods accordingly. Training under this heading needed to be of a practical and concrete nature and to be given as far as possible 'in the field' so as to acquaint the teacher with real-life conditions in school. The creation of specialized teacher-training institutions would seem to be the best way of putting this recommendation into effect.

Even when needs and resources do not allow this to be done, provision should be made for prior in-service training and, in that situation and in order to guarantee the quality of the training, for support for beginner teachers by the distribution of instructional papers and the appointment of teaching advisers.

In every case, it is essential to provide continuous training for teachers so that they are kept in touch with new scientific discoveries and innovations in teaching.

III.2.2 Participation by teachers in the evaluation of the education system and in the definition and implementation of educational reforms and pedagogical research projects is, for its part, regarded as a way of guaranteeing the rightness and effectiveness of educational reforms and the tackling of real problems encountered by the education system, as well as of improving the qualification and effectiveness of the teachers.

The institutionalization of this participation is clearly essential for the democratization of education since involving teachers in discussion and decision-making at the different levels of the education system is the way to put the principle of democratic management into practice and to ensure agreement between education systems' development goals and the objectives that society sets itself.

The requirements and new tasks this would impose would need to be reflected by improved remuneration and heightened social status for teachers.

III.2.3 The adaptation of the content of curricula is another decisive line of action for enhancing the effectiveness and relevance of education.

In this connection all the participants agreed on the need to give up curricula that, in the most general case, had remained too classical and academic in favour of contents more geared to economic and social reality. In general terms, changes in curricula should have the threefold objective referred to earlier, i.e. to enable the individual to understand his natural, social, economic and cultural environment by means of a scientific education developing in step with progress in science, prepare him for employment through the acquisition of occupational skills and lastly to prepare him for social responsibilities by an appropriate moral training.

The same concern to promote the personal development of schoolchildren, to improve results at school and for there to be more equality in chances of success, and to make education contribute to harmonious development in its regional dimension, led the participants to lay enphasis on the need to ensure that education was adapted to the needs, interests and constraints of the different school population groups. To that end it was suggested that teachers be given very wide prerogatives in that respect and provision made for their training with that in mind.

III.2.4 In the same context, new teaching methods favouring the active participation of the children and radical changes in the teacher-pupil relationship need to be introduced. The role of the teacher needs to be that of a guide and collaborator. Lastly, all the participants stressed the need for school education to be seen as part of a life-long learning process and for schoolchildren to be taught - as a means to that end - to teach themselves.

It should be noted that, on this score again, the link between theory and practice, in other words the acquisition of theoretical knowledge and the ability to use it to solve concrete problems or analyse concrete situations is believed to be essential for education to be relevant and, for that reason, was the subject of several statements. Teacher, student and pupil mobility, their participation in training and research projects for and in enterprises and students' participation in production during their learning period seem to be the main ways of achieving this objective.

III.3 Instituting the continuous reappraisal of the education system and developing research on education sciences form the third and last major category of action to improve the effectiveness of the education system. They are essential for diagnosing situations and identifying constraints and obstacles to the development, improvement and democratization of education and help define the most appropriate solutions.

The participation of all sectors of the community - teachers, parents, representatives of the social and associative organizations and of the productive sectors - was described, when the discussion turned to this aspect, as an essential guarantee for the success and rightness of the reforms it leads to.

III.4 Lastly, several speakers considered that international co-operation was a major factor in improving the quality of education through the exchanges of information and the assistance to which it gives rise. Unesco's important role in this connection was stressed many times by the participants.

THEME IV - HIGHER EDUCATION: SOCIAL DEMAND, THE REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEEDS OF THE JOB MARKET

On this important subject 19 statements were made which tried, in a rich and fruitful discussion, to pinpoint the problems of the democratization of higher education and to suggest measures that would contribute to that aim. The essential features of the discussion on the first point are set out under I.2, and there is no point in going back over them. Instead the accent will be on the measures suggested to bring about the democratization of higher education and to ensure that it fully plays its role as a factor of social progress and economic development.

IV.1 The measures recommended to make higher education a factor of social promotion and democratization of society relate to all its facets - its enlargement and its social dimension, the structure of the higher education network and its administrative and educational organization, the content of its programmes and its methods.

IV.1.1 On the first point there was general agreement on the idea that higher education could play an effective role of social promotion only if, at the same time as it is extended, opportunities for access and education for the children of the less advantaged strata were also increased.

Several concrete measures were suggested to that end: education to be free, State aid for students from modest social backgrounds in the form of scholarships or free benefits, exemption from entrance examinations where they exist, or even entry quotas to benefit certain disadvantaged social categories (blue collar, rural population, women, etc.).

Another suggestion to the same end but on another level was the decentralization of higher education in the sense of a twofold extension of the network firstly to give all, regardless of where they live, equal higher education opportunities and secondly to make allowance for the specific features and requirements of the various populations or regions of the country. Diversification was also suggested, in other words the development of new, less costly and more flexible modes of education alongside the traditional higher education institutions, such as distance education, part-time education, self-learning, etc., which afford another chance to children not gaining admission to traditional higher education and offer continuous education and socio-professional promotion opportunities for blue-collar workers. For the reasons set out above most speakers considered the development of these new forms of education to be a decisive factor in the democratization of education and a way of achieving a balance between the social and economic demand for higher education. What is more, most speakers thought that, at the cost of a few precautions concerning, more particularly, supervision and the certification of programmes and examinations, these new methods can provide education equivalent in quality to that of the traditional higher education institutions.

IV.1.2 Three main points were raised about the structural and organizational aspects.

Some participants stressed the importance, with regard to democratization, of the structure of the higher education system. A dualist structure, i.e. the co-existence of institutions of whatever nature that supplied mass education of a low cultural and scientific level without any guarantee of employment

opportunities with institutions of the élitist type makes for the crystallization of the existing social structure and impedes the real democratization of higher education.

Other speakers dwelt on the need to consider the democratization of higher education in the overall educational context. There could be no democratization of higher education unless its growth were accompanied by the general spread of basic education and adult literacy.

The management style of higher education institutions and the status accorded to the teaching staff and to students were determining aspects with regard to the democratization of education and, on that account, were the subject of several statements. A number of participants, for example, stressed the need for the participation of representatives of the population, teachers and students in the running of higher education institutions as a prerequisite for the latter's democratization for the reasons given under Theme II.

The nature of the regulations governing the action that teachers and students can take is another decisive factor in democratization. Some speakers emphasized the necessity of bringing to an end any repressive provisions vis-à-vis teachers and students and guaranteeing free expression and teachers' free choice and job security.

IV.1.3 With regard to the third and last point, the participants were agreed that the content of education was of decisive importance in the democratization process. The case was quoted of one developing country in which a strategic role was given to changed curricula, the purpose being to change attitudes and to bring about the emergence of a new élite capable, in thought and action, of sustaining the process of socio-economic development and social and political democratization. That said, the type of action proposed came under two headings.

Some speakers stressed to need to eliminate all taboos of whatever kind, in ideology or theory, and to develop the critical spirit as the motor of social progress, whilst others dwelt on the need to prepare future graduates morally for the shouldering of their future social responsibilities in a conscientious and committed fashion.

IV.2 All the participants agreed with the view that support for socio-economic development by the training of a scientific and technical élite and highly qualified manpower had become the dominant function of higher education in our time. On that basis they endeavoured to identify measures that would enable higher education to perform the function effectively. These measures mainly concerned the quantitative and qualitative tailoring of education to employment.

IV.2.1 The first aspect led to a discussion of questions of higher education development planning and student access and guidance.

The point was made that educational planning had to give preference to the development of those kinds of training that corresponded to employment requirements and to base it on forward-looking research designed to evaluate employment structures and, more fundamentally, trends in the nature of work and the skills it requires.

With regard to guidance on entry into higher education, this was felt to be inevitable because of constraints on resources, particularly in the present period of crisis, and at the same time as a way of suiting training to requirements. Nevertheless, with democratization in mind, all the participants felt it was essential that selection and guidance processes should not go beyond the testing of capacities and attitudes and that exemptions from these tests - or even access quotas - should be accorded to the disadvantaged social categories. It will be noted, in this connection, that some participants expressed their scepticism about the possibility of socially neutral selection and guidance and pointed out its perverse effects on training (the spreading rather than the integration of knowledge, the development of the spirit of competition rather than the spirit of mutual assistance and collaboration, etc.).

As an alternative, or to supplement selection and guidance, some participants proposed approaching the problem from the angle of candidates' motivations. For example, it was suggested that something be done about the structure of remuneration and too close a link be avoided between levels of education and income in order to discourage candidates whose only motivation is financial. They also felt that this type of approach would be the best way of reconciling students' free choice with the satisfaction of society's skilled manpower requirements.

IV.2.2 The second aspect led the discussion on to the ground of changes to curricula and teaching methods. The purpose of these changes is to ensure graduates' preparation for the performance of a particular job and to add progress in science and technology continuously into curricula. For this purpose it was recommended that multidisciplinarity be strengthened, aptitudes for research developed and education and research and theoretical and practical training combined. This last suggestion was the subject of particular attention and prompted recommendations mainly concerning the forging of close links between universities and enterprises, greater teacher and student mobility between these institutions and their participation in training and research for and within enterprises.

IV.2.3 Lastly and on another plane, attention was drawn to the need for a balanced allocation of resources as between higher education and the other education sectors and production so that the enlargement of higher education, the creation of jobs that could absorb the graduates produced and the development of basic school for all could all progress hand in hand, thus creating the conditions for the real democratization of education.

The question of the balance between the social function of higher education, which would require all social demand for higher education to be met, and its economic function, which, on the contrary, prompts its modulated development to suit the needs of economic and social development, was the subject of many statements and is sufficiently important for the arguments made to be given below.

Most speakers considered that the functions were contradictory, some attributing this contradiction simply to the shortage of resources whilst others said it had a structural origin.

One line of argument put forward, based on the experience of recently industrialized countries, argues that trends in the two kinds of demand have structural and contradictory characteristics depending on the stage of development. In the first stage of accelerated growth, when the economic base is being built up, the demand for skilled manpower increases steeply whilst the demand for higher education is still low because of earlier leeway in school access. With these contradictory characteristics, the two kinds of demand balance out. In the second stage, social demand increases because of the spread of access to primary and secondary-level schooling whilst the demand for skilled manpower slows with the deceleration in economic growth.

Whilst the requirements of employment and restricted resources prompted participants to give preference to the economic function, the diversification of higher education, in other words the development of new, non-traditional modes such as distance education or part-time education, appeared to them to be one solution enabling the economic and social functions of higher education to be reconciled.

It should be noted, however, that the opposite case was also made, arguing that, based on an analysis of contemporary development processes and recognition of the decisive role played by progress in science and technology and its implications for trends in the nature of work and the skills it required, there was a tendency for the two types of demand and the two functions of higher education to converge.

IV.3 The question of the financing of education has already been dealt with in II.4, and here we shall confine ourselves to setting out specific proposals for higher education.

A first series of proposals concerned the more efficient use of available resources. To that end, more intensive studies on the advisability of new investment and the training of specialized management grades were recommended. The main suggestion, however, concerned the development of regional co-operation and the use of available means and resources in the interests of the community as a whole.

A second series of proposals had to do with increasing the resources of higher education institutions. They recommended that the financial organization of these institutions should be reformed and that they should be given the possibility of financing themselves by being allowed to develop paid training, consultancy and research services for government departments and enterprises, the State retaining its right of control over the policy, content and quality of education. Participants were not unanimous on these proposals.

Some speakers considered that public financing and no-charge services for users were essential if the nature of higher education as a public service were to be retained.

V - SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO UNESCO

Whilst valuing Unesco's efforts to support the activities of Member States aimed at the democratization of education, the participants felt that the Organization should continue studying the various aspects of the democratization of education and concrete measures calculated to promote that objective and pursue the evaluation of the positive and negative effects of the various efforts made in that direction. It was suggested that Unesco afford its assistance for studies and research on:

factors and mechanisms inhibiting the democratization of education;

the assessment of democratization efforts and the criteria to be used;

the diagnosis of concrete situations and the analysis of educational requirements and constraints; diagnosis methods;

the relationship between the democratization of higher education and social mobility;

the processes and routes whereby young people take their place in active life, particular attention being given to studies on systems enabling this to be done at an early age, facilitating training/work alternation schemes with the prospect of lifelong education in view;

establishing a linkage between the training and social action of theoretical and practical training, and between education and research as ways of increasing the effectiveness and operationality of higher education;

criteria for assessing learning and for selection purposes;

the use of local languages as educational vehicles.

It was also suggested that Unesco extend its assistance to Member States wishing to:

build up their ability to develop strategies and policies for education, educational planning and teacher training;

initiate or develop research in education sciences and to ensure that this is linked up with the definition of education policies and strategies.

The participants also expressed the wish that Unesco should contribute to the:

intensification of efforts aimed at reinforcing the exchanges of experience and information in the field of the training of education science researchers and that of teacher training;

development of international and regional discussion on the question of the democratization of education.

ANNEX

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND ITS ROLE IN THE PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

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The series includes two general types of papers: (i) those focusing on the education system or some educational problems in a particular country (numbered C.1, C.2, etc.) and (ii) those treating a subject with a broader or indefinite geographical context (numbered S.1, S.2, etc.). The current list of titles, which contains an index by country and by general subject, may be obtained from the address at the bottom of this page. Comments on the series and on particular papers are most welcome.

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La Division des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation (ED/EPP) de l'Unesco reproduit certains documents techniques dans la série "Rapports, Etudes" afin de diffuser des informations et des idées relatives aux problèmes courants auxquels doivent faire face les décideurs, les planificateurs et les administrateurs de l'éducation ainsi que les architectes scolaires. Ces documents sont distribués sur demande aux spécialistes de l'Unesco et aux cadres techniques intéressés d'institutions gouvernementales et privées.

La plupart des documents de cette série ont été à l'origine préparés pour des programmes d'études de la division, des réunions ou des conférences et ont été sélectionnés en fonction de l'actualité du sujet traité. Les idées exprimées sont celles des auteurs et ne reflètent pas nécessairement les vues et politiques de l'Unesco. Les lecteurs doivent également tenir compte du fait qu'il s'agit souvent de documents de travail inédits qui ne sont pas destinés au public. De plus, certains auteurs ont rédigé leur document dans une langue qui n'est pas la leur, ce qui explique quelques faiblesses linguistiques.

Cette série se divise en deux catégories de documents : (1) ceux qui ont trait au système éducatif, ou à un aspect particulier de l'éducation dans un pays donné (numérotés C.1, C.2, etc.) et (2) ceux qui traitent d'un sujet dans un contexte géographique plus large ou non défini (numérotés S.1, S.2, etc.). La liste actualisée des titres, qui contient un index par pays et par sujets, peut être obtenue à l'adresse ci-dessous. Tout commentaire éventuel sur cette série et sur chacun des documents serait apprécié.

SERIE DE DOCUMENTOS DE TRABAJO "INFORMES, ESTUDIOS" DE ED/EPP

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